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“BOSS” RULE

OR THE REPUBLIC.

Which Shall Survive?

Lubin

A PLAN

FOR THE

Eradication of "Boss" Rule.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

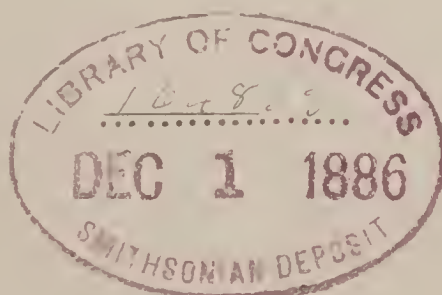
CALIFORNIA STATE GRANGE,

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✓ BY

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TO THE READER.

Those who may hastily skim over these few pages, or those who may give the subject but little thought, can hardly be expected to give an unbiased opinion as to the practicability of the plan herein outlined. Even a careful consideration may not, at the start, gain an adherent, for the human mind is so constituted that it tends to repel any idea differing from long cherished notions. Such is not only the case with those known as “conservatives,” but it is almost the same with many who are pleased to term themselves “liberals.”

I infer this from personal experience, for, when, at first, the plan was submitted to men—many of them above the average in intelligence and political knowledge—the tendency of conservatism was made manifest by vehement declarations that the plan was not practicable.

It was only after debating and carefully considering every detail advocated, that a favorable conclusion was arrived at. Even then, some of the conclusions were qualified with “ifs” and “buts.” All, however, who were consulted were in earnest on two propositions: first, that the present method is radically wrong; second, that it should be remedied.

What would be an efficient remedy none could tell.

While I am not prepared to hold that the plan herein outlined is the only efficient one that may be offered, I am yet constrained to say that, as long as no other is offered, this plan must stand as the the only proposition for relief.

In Germany, the greater portion of the male population are compelled to perform military service at certain intervals. During “leave of absence,” the soldier is nominally a servant of the State, but in reality assumes any calling or occupation which may be agreeable to him, but on receipt of official notice he again, as a soldier, becomes a servant of the State.

This system gives Germany a perpetual military force of many hundred thousand men. It is doubtful if the monarchical system of Germany could exist, were it not for their system of “land-wehr.”

It is proposed that what the "land-wehr" system is to Germany, the "Elective Franchise Trustee" system should become here, differing only in these essentials; the "land-wehr" soldier serves the State in order to perpetuate monarchy—whereas the "Elective Franchise Trustee" will serve the people by preserving the integrity of the ballot-box, and thus aid in perpetuating free government.

The ' Elective Franchise Trustee' system will cost our National and State governments but a small fraction of the millions of money yearly required to support the "land-wehr" system of Germany.

I am encouraged to persevere in putting forward this plan for the consideration of the thoughtful, for during the late convention at Marysville of the State Grange of California, I was invited to lay this plan before that body, and it met with their approval. In addition to this, the plan while at first adversely received was finally favorably considered by many eminent men throughout the State, who are well informed on political methods. It has been urged that in order to bring about such a change of affairs as is outlined in the plan, that associations be formed throughout the United States, and it is with that object in view that I have had this pamphlet published.

I propose to distribute it broadcast throughout the United States, and trust it will arouse a spirit of inquiry, the benefit of which may help strengthen our Republic.

In order to co-operate with those who may desire to organize associations for furthering the plan herein outlined, and for the purpose of exchanging ideas pertinent to the subject, I shall hold myself in readiness to answer all communications addressed to me on that subject, as promptly as my time and business will permit.

DAVID LUBIN,
Sacramento, California.

ADDRESS.

The Constitution of the United States was adopted September 17th, 1787, ninety-nine years ago. At the time of its adoption the population was estimated at about four million; the present population is estimated at about sixty million.

Could the European monarchs have foreseen that a republic would be established which would rival in magnitude and power the great empires of the world, it is almost certain they would have exerted themselves to crush the enterprise in its inception. That this could have been done no one will deny. That it was not done is nothing strange, for during the memorable struggle for independence, many even among the colonists believed that resistance was for the "redress of wrongs," and with wrongs redressed they would again humbly acknowledge the sovereignty of his majesty, George III, King of England.

Even after the adoption of the Constitution, the rulers of Europe looked upon the organization of the American Republic with contemptuous indifference. They did not deem it of sufficient importance to give the matter serious thought, for republics there were, and democracies, too, had their existence, but mutable exigencies caused them to melt and vanish from among the forms of government, and monarchy or despotism appeared to be the natural order of social organization.

The European rulers, however, are now beginning to realize that our republic is an institution differing in potent essentials from that of any other mode of government heretofore existing. They are beginning to realize that if our republic lives and prospers, it will seal the doom of emperor, king and prince. Already the power is slipping from their grasp.

Was it because of their natural goodness of heart that they established constitutions and legislative assemblies, or was it because they were compelled to do so by their subjects? If compelled by their subjects, were not these subjects influenced in their demands by comparing the existence of civil liberty in our republic with their state of slavish submission? Assuredly so.

We may therefore conclude that we should receive the friendly protestations of the "friendly powers" with a great deal of allowance.

Let us not deceive ourselves, but clearly understand that there is not a monarch or titled despot in Europe who would not gladly see the republic perish. Mutual distrust and jealousies but stay their desire to crush our cherished institutions.

What the future may bring forth will, in a great measure, depend upon our own actions.

Ninety-nine years of life for a nation is not a great age. Our republic, when measured by time, is yet in the experimental state. Should our experiment of self-government prove a permanent success, then may we hopefully await the time when, one by one, the downtrodden subjects of European monarchs will throw off the yoke of their masters and establish republics patterned after ours.

When that time shall have arrived we will have nothing further to fear, for if but two or three of the great nations of Europe become republics, the republican governments will then hold the "balance of power," and the "balance of power" once obtained, will establish civil liberty on a firm foundation and make it irresistible.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty;" is as potent an axiom of political integrity to-day as it was when uttered by that great statesman, Thomas Jefferson.

Let us therefore examine into our affairs and see if we can detect any weak points which may be remedied.

Permit me to digress from the subject for a few moments, so as to bring before your notice an illustration.

A few years ago the fruit-pest inspector called upon the orchardists and urged them to spray their trees.

"Why shall we spray our trees?" asked the orchardists.

"Because you will thereby destroy the insects, and unless you destroy them they will destroy your trees."

"But we have no insects," said many of the orchardists.

"Look through this microscope," replied the inspector. And when they looked they were amazed and horrified to find the trunks, limbs and leaves almost completely covered with millions of insects. The prudent fruit growers at once applied remedies which, with more or less success, destroyed the insects and thus saved their trees. The careless paid no heed to the warning, and as a result not only lost their trees but did much harm to the property of their neighbors; for the unchecked multiplication of the destructive insects carried them in every direction, until whole sections were infected.

Let us now apply this illustration to our affairs of government.

Apparently our national life is vigorous and healthy; but let us look somewhat closer, and what do we behold?

We scarcely have need for a microscope here, for we can observe with the naked eye hundreds and thousands of political insects that are as destructive to our body politic as the dreaded scale bug or codlin moth is to our trees. Yes, hundreds of thousands of political human insects are sucking the very life-blood out of this nation.

Perhaps you have a desire to see some of these political insects. Well, let us conceal ourselves in the rear of a bar-room; now peep into this "private" room, where, on every night but this, gamblers are assembled here to ply their unlawful trade; it is close to election time, and the "kettle is boiling;" yonder flashily dressed loafer, with the diamond shirtstud, is not the "boss;" no, he is only a henchman. He has received his orders from the "boss." Gathered around him are more henchmen, and there are several tools known as "placehunters." The session begins, and the chief henchman reads the orders of the "boss," the bargains are concluded, and the "platform" and "resolutions" are written out; a list of delegates and candidates is prepared; the deposit money of candidates is received; strikers, repeaters and bullies are engaged for use at the polls, and the meeting is adjourned by the chief henchman calling for the "drinks all around."

Soon after a caucus is called, to which the henchmen, strikers, repeaters and bullies, and a few citizens, go; the delegates "chosen in advance" and the tools known as office seekers are also there. After some preliminary

hocus-pocus, one of the henchmen is chosen president ; speeches are in order, and this band of political pirates are actually shouting patriotism. No wonder they do not blush while making their lying declarations, for their throats are brass, and their cheeks are adamant. And now these political vermin adopt a platform, and select delegates. Observe the paper on which the platform and on which the delegates' names are written—it is creased and dirty ; if you will take trouble enough to find out where it came from, you will learn that it has been stored away in the hind pants-pocket of the chief henchman from the time of the last meeting of the “ boys ” at the rear end of the bar-room.

The election for delegates to the convention next takes place. Just take a walk around and you will find at the rear end of the bar-rooms, in the little den called polls, several henchmen and ballot stuffers. On the curb you will find henchmen, loafers, rounders, repeaters, shoulder strikers, whisky bummers, and a few citizens.

Well, a short time after the convention is held, and the delegates are the henchmen, rounders, repeaters, shoulder strikers, loafers, and the tools called office seekers, and a few citizens who are put in to disguise and dilute, so as to give tone to the affair, or as the bosses express themselves, “ the thing should not be a dead-give away.”

Can you guess who the candidates are going to be? Do I hear you say they will select the best men? Well, the best men out of the entire lot will not count for much anyway, but don't deceive yourself. No, not even the best men from this assembly, but the worst will be selected with the exception of one or two names to give tone to the ticket. They will nominate the names written on the slip in the

little room at the rear end of the bar-room. A henchman or wire-puller is elected President over this assembly, and a fellow solid with his ward is chosen Secretary. A committee on platform and resolutions is appointed, who, after having retired, return and hand to the Chairman the identical creased and dirty sheet of paper handed by the "boss" to the chief henchmen sometime ago, and which the latter has carried all this while in the back pocket of his pants. Just think of it! The destinies of the Republic carried in the back pants pocket of a henchman. Speeches are now made by the political parasites and by a few innocent citizens. The platform is adopted amid vociferous cheers, and the nomination of candidates begin. Strange coincidence; the very men are chosen whose names are on the piece of paper that was erased and dirty, and which was kept in the hind pants pocket of the henchman, and again one or two respectable citizens are put on the tail end of the list to give tone to the ticket, or to catch the "respectable element," and now the ticket is "in the field."

Election day comes around, and you will find the same old ballot stuffers in the dens in the rear of the bars called "polls." Look in the dimly lighted den and you will see a henchman, several ballot stuffers, and one or two harmless, innocent looking, sheeplike citizens. On the curb you will find ticket peddlers, repeaters, bullies, henchmen, ringmen, shoulder strikers, loafers and citizens. Here you will find the political scale bug buying votes. There is another selling his.

Yonder is the bully intimidating the voters; behind him comes the repeater, following comes the fellow whose right to vote was purchased by a false oath.

Outside of the 100 foot limit are to be found the henchmen who are busily engaged in buying, bargaining, swopping and selling the very life of the nation, her votes, and thus do these political vermin devour the sap, the vigor, the life of this great nation—this great republic.

Do I speak of the Democratic or the Republican party? Alas ! I speak of both.

What results may we expect from such a state of affairs? Can we hope that this unholy traffic is carried on for the benefit of our republican institutions?

The very means employed, and employed by that above all objectionable class of men, shows upon its face that barter, gain, power and gold is sought after, and not the good of the republic.

Will anyone deny this? No, no one can, nor truthfully dare, deny it.

Yes, some will say, all this may be true enough as far as municipal politics are concerned in such cities as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago or San Francisco, but in the smaller towns and in the country no such state of affairs exists. Besides, while we may admit that municipal politics is in the hands of the rings, bosses and their henchmen, yet we affirm that the National Government is another affair; that branch of our government is at least free from the forms of municipal corruption.

Well, you are wrong on both propositions. You must bear in mind that county delegates and county manipulators are almost always to be found working in harmony with the city bosses. It is from them that they receive their platform and their resolutions—undoubtedly copies of that dirty

creased sheet of paper carried for a time in the hind pants pocket of the chief henchman—and it is from the bosses that they generally receive their private or secret instructions.

Thus you see that the country precincts are made to act like the rags on the end of a kite ; it is the tail end to help ballast the scheme of the city bosses.

No, not alone is it municipal politics that the “bosses manipulate,” but it is county, State and National politics as well.

If you are familiar with political methods as they are conducted at present, you will know this ; if you are not, you can readily ascertain that this is a fact ; for the caucus, the selection of delegates, the primary, the city, county, State and National conventions, and lastly the elections, have one and the same origin ; the little room at the rear end of the bar, and the manipulators are the “bosses” and their henchmen, and the voters are the puppets.

Not alone are we conscious of this humiliating state of affairs ; not alone is it blazoned forth almost constantly by the newspapers, but it is notoriously known throughout Europe.

A celebrated German writer, in a recent publication, says : “The practice of the United States, especially in their presidential elections, the inevitable corruption following in their wake, the necessity of rewarding the accomplices by giving them places, and then of winking at the delinquencies of their administration, the venality and corruption which is engendered in the ruling circle—all these deep-lying evils of the much vaunted republic have been brought into such glaring prominence within the last few years, that

the eagerness of German orators, newspaper writers and poets to go in search for their political and even moral ideals to the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, has suffered considerable abatement."

In the palmy days of the Roman Republic it was the custom to proclaim in time of danger, this warning: "See that the Republic receives no harm." Have we, then, nothing to fear? Shall we continue to permit the rule of the "bosses?" Shall these "bosses" put in office our township, state and national officers? Shall we permit ourselves to be the dupes and slaves of unprincipled knaves? Is it not time that we proclaim the warning of the ancient Romans? Let us therefore unite in saying, "See that the Republic receives no harm." The warning sound, however, will avail nothing unless we agree upon a plan of action; and action will avail nothing unless it be of such a nature as will tend to sweep the "boss" system forever out of American politics.

Now the question is, how is this to be done? "Citizens' parties," "farmers' parties," "anti-partisan parties" or "anti-boss parties," have been tried and in some few instances with complete success; but there is no cohesion in these parties, and none know this better than the "bosses" themselves. These parties come like a flash and vanish out of sight, and the only inconvenience the bosses feel is at that particular election when the flash is flashing. At that time the bosses say that "luck is against them;" but they by no means despair, for they well know that at the next election there will scarcely be a sign left of the farmers, citizens or independent parties, and that they will again rule as supreme "bosses."

During the rule of these "bosses" can any voter truthfully say that in depositing a vote in the ballot box, the vote

deposited is *his* choice? Is it *his* choice? Is it not the choice of the "boss?" Who that will but observe can fail to see that the "boss" is behind the caucus, and that the caucus chooses delegates to district conventions, district conventions choose delegates to State conventions and State conventions choose delegates to the National conventions and these select candidates for President.

Is it not the caucus, after all, that dictates to the voter for whom he shall vote? Who else but the "bosses" are the motive power of this political machinery? Thus you will observe that while the voter has choice of *tickets*, the "*boss*" has choice of candidates. Who is *master*? the voter? I say *no; emphatically, no.* It is the "*boss*;" and to all intents and purposes the voter might as well be disenfranchised.

Let us be frank enough to admit this truth, that while the "bosses" rule, the Republic is dead. For what more can be done to annihilate free government than to deny to its citizens the right to choose *candidates*?

What may we expect from public officers who are nominally voted for by the citizens, but who in reality are *appointed* by the "bosses?" Can we expect that office holders who have been placed in office by the "bosses" are the proper men to aid, develop free institutions? Can we expect such men to be loyal to the traditions of a Republican form of Government? Have not these men conspired with the chief conspirator, the "boss"? Have not these office holders bargained and contracted with the "bosses" for the positions they now hold? Was this loyalty to the Republic? Was it not damnable treason? If it is not, then tell me what treason is. Can an act be more treasonable than one that strikes at the very foundation, the very life of our free representative government?

Deny it, you perjured office holders. Deny it, you thievish knaves, if you dare! Deny it, you "bosses!" Deny it, you vile hogs; you who feed fat on the life's blood of American citizenship; you destroyers of civil and political liberty.

Deny it, oh fellow citizens! Deny it! Can we deny it, and not do violence to truth! Alas! no, we cannot deny it; it is true, only too true.

Even then the story is but half told, for, in addition to the thinly disguised political villiany of the "bosses," are their allies, backers and supporters, and these are the powerful corporations and their office-seeking adventurers.

These kid gloved gentry want "sundry measures" and "favorable" (?) legislation; this requires sundry *capable* men; these men once selected *must be elected*. The innocent, lamb-like, patriotic corporationites do not themselves wish to mingle in "the dirty pool," so they give their *orders* to their henchmen, and their henchmen "*fix things*" with the "bosses." So skillfully is this managed that it is seldom that the "boss" even dreams that he is "steering" a corporation "*gang*" into office.

The corporation henchman usually has his first and second choice of tools; these are placed on the prevailing party tickets, and thus do these corporations play "heads I win," "tails you lose" game, and the country can go to the Devil.

Kerosene oil, hogs, pigiron, land-grabbers, water-grabbers, railroad companies, sugar-makers, coolie-drivers, bond-holders, franchise-grabbers, and job "putters-up"-ers, are the governors; *they* and their henchmen have the "power," and

the "glory," and the "kingdom;" and the people—well, if they don't like it, they have the ballot, you know.

The "*fixing things*" with the "boss" is only a preliminary step in this political comedy, for, after securing the *sundry* men to "run," and after "fixing things" with the "bosses," another step is necessary—campaign work must be done, and the districts must be canvassed; but who is to do it, the corporationites? No, indeed, the very idea would make them smile. Shall it be the bosses? Well, hardly, for, in addition to being illiterate and ignorant, their reputation smells too much of gin, dog-fights, gambling, the "manly art," and other things too numerous to mention. Well, who shall it be? Now mark you well.

It will not be an ignoramus, nor a mysterious unknown, but it will be a man of learning and of education, whose entire mental capacities have been directed into one certain channel. He is an orator. Watch his well turned phrases, his sallies of wit, his pleasing gestures, his imploring earnestness, his genteel, pathetic and sympathetic appeals to those assembled "to guard well the sacred rights of civil liberty." Of a sudden, however, the genteel and pleasing repose of his features change to a scowl of deep hate as he grates forth maladictions and denunciations on the platform, party, and traditions of the opposing party. Watch him well, he is in earnest—there is no denying that. The people are electrified, and give vent to their high wrought pitch of excitement by rending the air with cheers and yells, and, at the conclusion, three cheers and a tiger are given for the ticket and for the orator. Did we say this orator was learned and educated? Yes, we did, but now we will say something more: this orator, in addition to being learned

and educated, is a *tool*—yes, a still more villainous and and *dangerous* tool of scheming men than are the bosses and their henchmen all put together.

Unmask this man and you will find him a bought comedian, whose every word was carefully memorized, whose every gesture was studied before the mirror. Could they but speak, the very dollars in his pocket would cry out “this man is a base traitor,” *he has been bought to blind the people by his dangerous gift of oratory.*

There are scores of political prophets and pessimists who predict that the sand-lotters, the strikers, the communists, and the foreign rabble generally, will undermine our republican form of government. I boldly assert, and that without fear of contradiction, that the fundamental principle of free government is in greater danger of being submerged by the knavish and hypocritical “orator” than by the communist; for, if the communist but oversteps the law, he is in prison; and, if found guilty of crime, the hangman’s rope ends his career. But how is it with the “orator”? For his knavish skill of flattery and hypocrisy he is rewarded with gold and honor; and I predict now that if ever this republic is to perish, the “orator” will be the assassin, and not the communist—the native-born, cultured knave will deal the death blow, and not the foreign boor.

What, then, but a knowledge of this humiliating state of affairs is the secret of the silence on the part of the so-called “friendly powers” of Europe. The monarchs, despots, and crafty diplomatists of Europe, have not read ancient and modern history in vain. They have learned by heart the manifold examples of ancient and modern republics. They know that republics are generally formed by

factions breaking loose from some other mode of government, generally despotic. They know that, on the organization of this form of government, the leaders and patriots are placed in office, and that wise laws are enacted. They know that these republics, although at the start formed from an insignificant faction, in a short time become powerful States. Instances are not wanting where they become the mightiest political power in the world. But they also know that when the republic becomes rich and powerful the parasites of republics, the "bosses," appear, and they also know that when the parasitic "bosses" appear, the days of the republic are numbered.

Fellow citizens, the parasites are here! They are sapping the life out of our great republic; and unless we exterminate the political vermin, the "bosses," then are the days of our republic numbered, and the end will soon be here. It will not come peacefully, nor harmlessly. Furious rage will rule supreme, and civil liberty will die the death of a dog; and the people who suffered "bosses" to rule shall be ruled by chains and stripes, and when that time shall have come, will anyone say that our affliction will be unmerited? No, not one; for into our hands is consigned the mission to establish and perpetuate the sacred rights of civil and political freedom. Our national life should become a beacon light, guiding the people of the earth on the road to civil liberty.

How can this be done?

Before we decide *how* this can be done, let us determine the cause of this state of affairs and the conditions that go to make the existence of "bosses" possible.

In the beginning of its national existence the original

founders of this republic were animated with a noble spirit of patriotism. An ardent devotion to the principles of free government was the motive power and incentive to such action on their part as would best further the political welfare of the republic.

The hopes of the founders were fully realized, and a mighty republic was thereby created.

No sooner was this brought about when the descendants of the original founders, who, when they became rich and powerful, believed that they were secure, and thus relaxed the efforts necessary for the maintenance of liberty, and kept aloof from performing even the common duties obligatory on every good citizen. The decay of patriotism and non-performance of the duties of citizenship, made it possible for the bringing about of the present state of affairs. This state was as natural a result in political affairs as is the usual result in the case of decay of animal or vegetable life.

The law appears to be universal that inactivity brings decay, and decay brings parasites, and parasites left unchecked bring death.

We may therefore conclude that this "boss" system was brought about through the indifference and neglect of the people to perform the proper functions of citizenship.

Could we but bring about a state of affairs that would cause every citizen to attend to his political duty, we would most surely do away with the "boss" system.

How can this be done? Shall we appeal to the patriotism of the people?

This has been tried over and over again, but the results have hardly justified the means. Shall we organize into

farmers', citizens' or independent associations? The very division into small bodies will result only in dividing the strength of the better class of citizens, and thus prove an aid to the "bosses ;" besides, these organizations are short-lived.

I propose to submit for your consideration a method for obtaining the desired relief, but that method is a radical one, though all radical ideas are likely to be condemned before being understood. I beg of you, therefore, to give me your attention, so that I may lay the plan before you understandingly, which, when done, you may treat with such consideration as it may deserve.

A short time ago we came to the conclusion that the "boss" system was brought about by reason of the indifference and neglect of the people generally to perform the proper functions of citizenship.

Now, if a person neglects to pay his debts, is there not a law to compel him to pay? What if a citizen neglects to attend to jury duty, is there no law to compel him to attend? If there are laws for these things, can there not be a law to compel the citizen to attend to the duties and obligations of citizenship? Is not this duty of equal importance to the welfare of the State, and to the perpetuity of our country? Assuredly.

Well, if the prosperity of our mode of government requires that all citizens attend to their political duties, and if we can only obtain this result by laws and penalties, what good citizen *will* or *can* object?

If other means, equally as effective, will accomplish the same results, we have a right to know those other means ;

until that time, this method must stand as the only means. Let us now continue further in the elaboration of the plan.

Laws should be enacted that persons who are ineligible to become citizens shall not be permitted to reside in the United States, excepting only in very limited numbers, and then only when provided with conditional permits. That this would be a salutary law, no one will deny, for the strength of a republic consists in the numbers as well as the intelligence and patriotism of its citizens. And while it may be readily admitted that the alien class may add to the material wealth and prosperity of our country, yet it must be evident to all that in a representative form of government like ours, aliens are a source of political weakness, and while material wealth and prosperity may appear to many to be the criterion result of good government, yet, in reality, nothing is further from the real truth. Goldsmith says :

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ends a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

If we are to be guided by past experience from historical data, we will invariably conclude that political prosperity is to be preferred. *Rome*, when politically prosperous, was a free and progressive republic ; but *Rome*, in the days of *material* prosperity, was the incarnation of tyranny.

A further enactment should provide, that all those who are eligible should promptly make application for citizenship, which, if they refuse so to do, they may then be classed as aliens, and be treated as such.

Having now given my views on citizenship, I will now proceed with the plan in detail.

Political wards should consist of 500 voters, and not to exceed that number. In addition to the Great Register now

in use, a Ward Register is to be kept, and printed copies are to be furnished to voters of each ward residing therein. The United States Government, the State, county and ward shall furnish to each ward a printed circular setting forth, briefly, the duties and obligations of a voter to the United States, his State, his county and his ward ; also, salient features of the election laws.

All political caucuses, conventions and elections are to be held in the *Public School* buildings of the various wards. When a man of family will attend to the political affairs of his ward, county, State or country in the house, and perhaps in the very room where his children are being taught, he is apt to be more sober, thoughtful and upright than if he were in the rear end or in the upper floor of a bar-room.

Laws should be enacted to legally recognize and to govern the caucus and the primary, for, at the present time, these institutions, although the most important, are yet run on the "go-as-you-please" plan.

There should be laws enacted that shall make it a penal offense if any citizen remain away from the caucus meeting, for, above all of our political institutions, I recognize the *caucus* as one of the most important. How few there are that fully realize its power for good or evil. The caucus appears like the mudsill to a house—hidden under the dirt—but in reality it is the greatest power in our body politic. Take the caucus out of the hands of the "bosses," and the "bosses" are swept away.

Now let me ask the voters who are assembled here, how many of you attend the caucus regularly? What! None? Well, how many of you have ever attended a caucus? So few? Well, you are no exception to the general rule.

The political "boss" will allow us to have our "anti-boss" parties, "farmer's parties," "citizen's parties," or "independent parties"; but as long as he can secure the *caucus* he can beat us all. Trying to better the Government by factional parties, as long as the "bosses" control the caucus, is like trying to quell a torrent with a tin dipper.

Recognizing the great importance and bearing of the caucus in matters appertaining to the welfare of our government, I would therefore suggest a change of method of holding caucus meetings. In doing so I will first outline a description of an official body to be known as Elective Franchise Trustees.

Every political ward shall be ordered by law to elect for one term from among voters residing therein, two who will be known as Ward-elective Franchise Trustees, for every hundred voters residing in the ward. A ward of 500 voters will therefore be entitled to ten ward franchise trustees. Soon after election these ward franchise trustees elect from among their own number a President, and one out of every three who are to be known as "County Franchise Trustees." The County Franchise Trustees are to elect from among their own number three who are to be known as "State Elective Franchise Trustees." The State Franchise Trustees are to elect from among their own number three who are to be known as "United States Elective Franchise Trustees." The ward franchise trustees are to meet in the public school house of the ward in which they reside. The county members are to meet at the County Court-house. The State members in the State Capitol, and the United States members at the Capitol at Washington.

Suitable compensations are to be paid to those of the

franchise trustees who may be required to devote any time other than the ordinary duties of ward franchise trustees ; and a longer period of service than one term may be allotted to those serving as County, State or United States Franchise Trustee ; but ward franchise trustees shall serve only one term and are thereafter to be ineligible for that office. During their term of office, franchise trustees, shall not be permitted to cast a political vote, nor engage in any political campaign, nor make a political speech, nor are they to further the political interest of any partisan or party whatever.

No person is to be eligible for any political office who shall not have served a term as ward franchise trustee : nor shall any one be chosen for County, State or United States franchise trustee who shall not have served a term as ward franchise trustee. Franchise Trustees, after election, shall take an oath to observe and carry out the election laws.

The Ward Trustees shall have full police power and may when necessary, call upon the regular police force, or upon any citizen or citizens for aid. Refusal to render aid shall be a punishable offense. They shall furthermore be guardians of the election laws, and empowered with ample authority to execute enforcement of them. They shall have full charge of the caucus meetings, primary conventions, the polls and the ballot boxes. They will also have power to summons and to administer oaths.

They may make arrests during caucus meetings, conventions and elections, of persons making any attempt at fraudulent voting, or for disturbing the peace at or near the voting precincts, or for intimidating voters, attempting to buy or sell any votes, or for any infringement on the elec-

tion laws. They may, for just cause, and at their discretion, detain witnesses, and take cognizance of charges made by any voter residing in their ward against another voter who is a resident in the same ward for any infringement against the election laws.

When in session for that purpose, the accused person or persons of a ward and witnesses are to be brought before the ward "elective franchise trustees" for a preliminary hearing. If the charge cannot lawfully be sustained the accused is to be dismissed; if, on the contrary, the charge is well founded, the accused and witnesses are to appear before the County, State or United States "Elective Franchise Trustees," as the circumstances of the case may require, and a jury of twelve "Trustees," together with a Superior Judge, if a ward, county or State case, and a jury of twelve Trustees, together with a United States Circuit Judge, shall try the case if it be within their jurisdiction; the State and United States to furnish prosecuting attorneys, and should the accused be unable to obtain counsel, the Court may appoint a qualified person to plead in his behalf.

"Franchise Trustees" are to be exempt from arrest or detention during the time they are engaged in the duties of their offices, or when going or coming from their place of meeting, except for felony or treason, and for violation of the election laws. Arrests of a Franchise Trustee for violation of the election laws shall only be made by Franchise Trustees. A complaint of a citizen of a ward, charging a ward Franchise Trustee with neglect or violation of election laws, may be entered on the records of the County Franchise Trustees, and the accused may, if the charges are well founded, be called before that body for trial, and if found

guilty, shall be punished according to law, and shall also become ineligible to hold any political office thereafter ; nor is he to be eligible to any political appointment, and shall also be ineligible for appointment as deputy to any political position in any ward, county, State or in the United States.

County Franchise Trustees, who may have neglected their duty, or violated the election laws, shall be tried by the State Franchise Trustees, and State offenders are to be tried by United States Franchise Trustees. Vacancies shall be filled in accordance with law upon that subject.

Having now described the plan thus far, I shall try to give a practical illustration of a caucus meeting under this method. In accordance with law the Mayor of the town issues a printed notice, which is countersigned by the chairman of the County "Elective Franchise Trustees," to the effect that a caucus meeting is to be held in a certain ward on a certain date, at the assembly rooms of the ward public school building, on the evening of the day, and at the hour mentioned by the call the assembly is called to order by the President of the ward "Elective Franchise Trustees," another of the Trustees acts as Secretary. The citizens assembled have printed copies of the Ward Register. The Chairman now orders a roll call, and as each person's name is called the person walks up to the platform, facing the President and the people, and if no objection is made, he will retire to the opposite side of the room. Should there be any objection he is escorted to a detention room by one of the Franchise Trustees, for the purpose of further investigation as to his citizenship and residence. If he be an intruder he will be put under arrest. If he is found entitled to the privilege he is readmitted to the assembly room. As each name is

called and the person appears on the platform, the name is checked by the President, Secretary and the voters present. The names of absentees are left unchecked, and are to be arrested and prosecuted at some future time. *Absentees are also to be ineligible for election to the office of Franchise Trustee; one year for first offence, three years for second offence, and five years for third offence; for the fourth offence he is to be disenfranchised.* The President will then proceed to read the printed circular furnished by the United States, one from the State, another from the county, and the last from the ward on the duties of citizenship.

The Chairman will read the report of Ward "Elective Franchise Trustees," beginning with the ward, then county, State, and last the United States, *offering resolutions of censure or praise on the administration of officials, and on the administration of the election laws, and of the county, State and U. S. "Elective Franchise Trustees" administration* and a vote by ballot is taken and a record entered of the yeas and nays. The President will now announce that those who wish may propose *partisan divisions* to be placed on memorandum. Any person may now address the Chair and request that the Republican Party be placed on the memorandum; another may ask the same privilege for the Democratic Party, another for a Citizen and another for the Prohibition Party, etc. No more requests being made, the Chairman says: "Are there any other parties to be placed on memorandum? if not, the list will be closed."

The list being closed, the Chairman will call upon one of the "Ward Franchise Trustees" to escort the party first upon the list to their committee room, and a trustee is to *remain* with this division during the time of the transaction of their work, and when completed, he is to escort them back to

their seats. As soon as the partisan division is assembled, the Ward Franchise Trustee will call the meeting to order, and read to them the object of the meeting, including a summary of the law governing partisan caucus meetings, but he is to abstain from any remarks that may be construed as having a *partisan* meaning.

The first order of business of the partisan division is to be the election of temporary Chairman and Secretary, and when this is done the Ward Trustee will vacate his chair and turn it over to the temporary Chairman. The next order of business is the election of Ward Franchise Trustees. This they proceed to do by electing as many as there are hundreds present. If there are less than a hundred, they may send a messenger to the Ward Trustee President, and notify him that they *wish to combine with another division* so as to have sufficient to elect two trustees.

The next order of business is the election of delegates for the primary. If they have less present than the required number to elect they again notify the President that they wish to combine with another division.

When the ward franchise trustees and delegates to the primary are elected, they adjourn the *division partisan* meeting and are escorted back to their seats in the general assembly room. After the division is seated the "ward franchise trustee" will report if the meeting was conducted in accordance with the election laws relating to the ward division partisan caucus meetings. If the report be *unfavorable* the reasons are recorded and the chair may decide that *no* report of election from that division will be received, or that the acts of voters will be investigated at some future time. If the report be favorable, the President

will call upon the Temporary Chairman of the division for his report. The report is now read and the names of the trustees and delegates who are elected by the division are *declared elected*, and their names are placed on the records after having been announced by the President; when all the divisions have likewise reported the meeting is adjourned. *At the meeting in the general assembly room no remarks, speeches, or other business of any nature whatsoever is to be permitted, excepting the order of business as laid down by the law, printed copies of which are to be distributed to the voters.*

I shall now recapitulate the system outlined :

1st.—The law to induce citizenship will tend to make of us a homogeneous nation in place of a heterogeneous mixture of diverse peoples.

2d.—The non-admission of those who are ineligible to become citizens will strengthen us politically.

3d.—The ward registers printed and distributed among the voters of a ward will tend to bind closer the voters of that ward, and materially lessen the chance for fraud.

4th.—The law making it compulsory for every citizen in each ward to attend the caucus, will tend to obliterate party, race, religious and class distinctions, and we will be able to keep any dangerous political element before our eyes. The rich and the poor, the ignorant and the learned, the peaceable and the turbulent, will all meet here on a common level.

5th.—The caucus, primaries and convention when governed by law will be a surer protection against corruption than the method now in operation.

6th.—Voters ascending the platform in caucus meeting, in response to their names, where they may be visible to all the voters of the ward, will be a safer guard against fraudulent intruders than the present method.

7th.—The creation of the office of “Elective Franchise Trustee,” which is the very soul of this system, will tend, with the addition of several other provisions herein mentioned, to entirely eradicate the “boss” system, for the position of Ward Franchise Trustee will be sought after by the best citizens.

8th.—As ward caucuses are not all held the same evening, the Trustees of wards not holding caucuses may be summoned to serve in those that do.

A single ward of 500 voters will be entitled to ten Elective Franchise Trustees. A city of 25,000 inhabitants, having say eight political wards of 500 voters each, will be entitled to 80 Franchise Trustees; and California, containing say 200,000 voters, will be entitled to 4000 Elective Franchise Trustees. The entire United States, which contain say ten million voters, will be entitled to 200,000 Elective Franchise Trustees. Thus there will be a body of men composed largely of the best elements of our country, who will be fully armed with sufficient authority, and with ample means at their command, to preserve the election laws in their integrity.

All who may wish to aspire to political office, whether it be by election or appointment, or whether the office be for deputy poll tax collector or President of the United States, will be obliged to serve one term as Ward Franchise Trustee. Thus the office of trustee will be an honorable one, even though the place be regarded as a stepping stone to a more lucrative office.

Can not a trustee become a “connubuiator?” a conspirator? a “boss” man? a “ring man?” a time server? In fact, cannot the entire 200,000 Elective Franchise Trustees, that you now propose to establish go into “cahoots” business as it is termed by the “bosses,” and become a new “boss system” even if the present boss system is abolished?

The ring men with whom I have spoken too, say yes. Well, I give them credit for an extensive range of experience in political manipulations, but, at the same time, they are wrong in their prognostications this time and for these reasons :

1st.—The trustees are elected *but for one term*, which may seldom be for more than a year, and at the utmost for two years.

2d.—The office of “Ward Elective Franchise Trustee” can only be held for *one term*, and *no one* is to be *eligible* for *re-election* to *that* office, and as the hundreds of thousands of wards throughout the United States hold the wards caucuses at different times, and as the Franchise Trustees can only be elected during a lawfully called caucus, *the office will not be stationery enough to permit of solid combinations on a large scale.* Besides every voter in a ward may *impeach* a Franchise Trustee for a proper cause at *any* time; and if found guilty of an offense against the election laws, will thereafter be ineligible to *hold* any *political* office. Therefore but very few will jeopardize their chances forever by wilfully disobeying the letter and spirit of the election laws, which if they do, they will be liable to penal punishment besides.

As the chances for nomination of an ex-trustee to a political office will almost entirely depend upon his conduct

as Ward Franchise Trustee, all holding that office will endeavor to make a good record ; and thus the office will in a great measure become a *theatre of probation*. Those that make the best records during the time they are Franchise Trustees will be most likely to be rewarded with the chiefest places ; and he whose record is poor will receive no further promotion, and he whose political record is criminal will be disgraced and forever denied the right to become a candidate for any political office.

Yes, but will not scheming men try to get into office by making good records as Ward Franchise Trustees ? and when once elected, are they not going to rule or ruin ?

That is possible, but the “argus-eyed” trustees are carefully watching the office holders ; for the trustees have committees to *overhaul accounts*, and committees to *ferret out combinations*, and committees to unearth “jobs” and “rings,” and when an office-holder is discovered doing ought that would be against the laws or against the public good, he is brought to a speedy trial, and if found guilty is punished, and thus becomes ineligible for any office thereafter.

Upon taking the office of Elective Franchise Trustee, it becomes incumbent on those elected to study the election laws thoroughly ; and if the office is to be held on an average for one year, it will give us 200,000 citizens in the United States who will be familiar with the election laws ; in five years there will be one million, and in thirty years there will be *six million* citizens of the United States who will have served in the capacity of Ward Franchise Trustees. The political knowledge and experience gained by these six million trustees during the term of service will be incomparably of greater value to the Republic than the

meagre and often misguided notions and political ideas obtained by the people now from demagogues, stump orators, sophistical partisans, or unscrupulous knaves in search of places or selfish measures.

Thus the establishment of the Elective Franchise Trustee department will give this Republic a standing force of 200,000 citizens who, armed with law and weapon, will stand ready at the risk of life itself to preserve the integrity of the laws governing the mode of choosing representatives, and for the proper administration of the duties of representation. Such a standing force would, in my judgment be a more potent power for the preservation and perpetuation of our representative form of government in its integrity than would be our militia, or an army and navy of the most formidable kind.

Such a standing force would add power and dignity to our republic and would tend to remove the blemish and stain of corruption caused by "bossism," as now existing. It would remove chances for civil wars and soften factional and partisan animosities, and place this republic first on the list of nations who are governed the most wise, the most just, the most free. Our form of government will then become the ideal and pattern for the nations of the earth, and civil and political liberty will become so deeply rooted that no earthly power will be able to retard its progress, and when that time shall have come we may hopefully expect the peoples and nations of the earth will adopt our mode of government as the only kind to be tolerated.

The reading of the printed circulars furnished by the General Government, the State, the County and Ward, at every caucus held in every ward throughout the United

States, instructing the citizens in the duties, obligations and privileges of voters, will be a reminder to those that have learned and will instruct those recently admitted to citizenship the essentials required to make good and faithful guardians of the republic.

The report by the Elective Franchise Trustees made in every political ward in the United States of the conduct and administration of the Federal, State, County and Ward office holders, and the votes of censure or praise recorded, will be a far more potent power for good government than the present power of the press. This vote will become the guide of the press and of the people, and a vote of praise from every ward in the land will be the chief incentive of the great Federal office holders. The same potent influence will be the motive for good and efficient administration throughout the entire body politic.

All this may be readily assented to, but the point of *compulsion*. How about that? By *compelling* a citizen to attend the caucus, as this plan requires, does it not destroy the very foundation of liberty?

In answering this question, much will depend upon the *kind* of liberty we mean. Do we mean liberty to disregard and ignore the duties and obligations of citizenship? If we do, then the sooner *that kind* of liberty is destroyed the better. Are the privileges of American Citizenship scattered broadcast free to every one just like so many advertising circulars, and of no value excepting to call upon the United State Consul and seek the protection of this Government when in trouble in some foreign land? Is your business, your social assemblies, your leisure, your ease, of more importance than good government? Perhaps it is;

but mark well, that such objectors *should not live in a republic*; they ought to live in a country where the despot does *all* the governing.

This is a republic, and a republic can only exist by virtue of the exercise of the duties of citizenship. Neglect to do this will bring on the parasitic “bosses,” which, if left unchecked, destroys the freedom of self-government. If you are willing to allow the destructive powers to do their work, you cannot blame those who are not, can you? Thus, when we *compel you to attend to your duty*, we only exact a return for the *privilege* of citizenship *granted you*. If you do not wish to pay the price for that privilege, we shall not quarrel with you; you can emigrate to some other country where you will not be compelled to attend a caucus: say, for instance, Russia or Turkey. You will not be burdened with a caucus there; in fact they will not even permit you to talk about such things, and, if you insist, they might send you to Siberia, or some other disagreeable place. We insist and compel — *not* to destroy liberty, but in order to *preserve* and *perpetuate* it. Are we not *compelled* to observe the laws of personal obligations in matters of conduct and of business? Why, then, shall not those be compelled to attend to the duties and obligations of citizenship, who would otherwise neglect this, the most important service to his State, to his Country?

Can any one, who has the interest of free government of this republic at heart, object? I think not. I am sure they will not; for when it is taken into consideration that every person favoring the adoption of this plan, by permitting himself to be compelled to attend a caucus, compels, at the same time, *ten million voters* in the United States to

do *likewise*, who will then be the objector? Who that does not wish this republic to live? Who that does not wish to destroy that great curse of a representative form of government, the "bosses?" If there be any, let them be exiled from this land, and they should not be permitted to return; *they do not deserve the freedom they enjoy.*

But were we to admit that the plan is entirely practicable and will have the beneficial effects as predicted, how is it going to be adopted?

We can readily understand that were a plan offered, favorable to, and favored by, the manipulators and "bosses," ways and means would be found for its adoption; but a plan that means death to "bosses," is not likely to meet their favor. Thus to start out with, you have the whole political machinery in the country against this plan. Besides, there are the thousands of office holders throughout the United States, the majority of whom were placed in office by the "machine," and who hope to be kept there by the "bosses." Can you expect these men to think favorably of helping destroy a power that gave them honors and fortune? Yes, all this is true. No help may be expected from the "machine," the "bosses," or office holders appointed by them; but we do not expect their aid, and would refuse it were it offered.

This or any other efficient plan for the maintenance and perpetuation of civil liberty must be developed and brought to a successful issue by the millions of citizens who desire that it should be so; and when compared to these in numbers, the "machine manipulators" and "bosses" are but a drop in the bucket. The secret of the success of the "bosses" is in their organization; but if there be an organization

among those who desire good government, the “bosses” will be swept away like a spider’s cobweb.

There should be organization, but it should extend throughout. A Farmer’s Union, a Workingmen’s Union, a Merchant’s Union, or a Citizen’s Union are after all but so many *factions, impotent, inefficient and transitory*. Let there be a union of all citizens who desire good government ; let the farmers, the mechanics and the merchants have their separate unions, but let them all unite on one platform and act in harmony, and they will become a power mightier than the “machine ;” mightier than the “boss.”

Brother Johnston, the Worthy Master of the State Grange, kindly invited me to lay this matter before you. That this subject is a proper one for the Grange may be inferred, for, in the “Declaration of Purposes,” we find the following : “Yet the principles we teach underlie all true politics, all true statesmanship, and if properly carried out will tend to purify the whole political atmosphere of our country. For we seek the greatest good to the greatest number.” * * * And again, “It is right for every member to do all in his power, legitimately, to influence for good the action of any political party to which he belongs. It is his duty to do all he can in his own party to put down bribery, corruption and trickery ; to see that none but competent, faithful and honest men, who will unflinchingly stand by our industrial interests, are nominated for positions of trust.”

Can we expect these things to be done for us by the “bosses ?” It is high time, therefore, that some efficient method be adopted that will give us permanent relief. With that end in view, I respectfully offer the plan pro-

posed. That some plan should be adopted that shall effectually remedy the evils in our body politic no one will deny. For shall right, shall justice, shall freedom perish?

Let us therefore *resolve to act, and that at once, to eradicate the evils now besetting our government.* Will we permit the present state of affairs to continue until the whole body politic becomes incurable? Will we submit in slothful negligence, to be bound hand and foot, or have our liberties handed over to scheming devils and their satellites?

Let us arouse ourselves from this seeming stupor and assert our right to the proud title of freemen. Let us hurl the *destroyers* from their high places, so that our republic may grow and thrive, like a great oak tree near the bank of a river, whose roots shall penetrate deep into the earth and under whose shade shall be sheltered many that were oppressed by the heat of tyranny; thus will our country truly become "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Our republic will then become the ideal of the nations of the earth, hastening on the time when "swords will be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks, and war will be no more."

I realize fully the difficulties to be encountered before so radical a plan as the one herein outlined can be put into operation.

To effect the change required, the constitution of the United States will have to be amended. The Supreme Courts of the United States, and of every State in the Union will find great difficulty in adjusting decisions to meet the requirements of the amendments.

The international laws will have to be amended, and the jury and election laws changed. These difficulties,

however, are small in proportion to the great difficulty of overcoming the obstacles and stumbling blocks that will be put in the road, obstructing the work of reform, by the "bosses," the "ring-men," and the army of officeholders, who have been elected and are maintained in positions of honor and reward by the present "boss" rule.

Notwithstanding, however, that the difficulties and obstacles will be great to overcome, the chances of success are encouraging; for who that will but observe, can fail to see that the people are chafing under the system of "bossism?"

A change that will *better*, a change that will *purify*; a change that will *strengthen* the government of our country, and a change that will sweep away the obnoxious and criminal "boss" system from our body politic, will be hailed with joy by the people; *and when this people will demand the change, the difficulties will melt away like wax before fire.*

Let there be a union of all the citizens of every shade of political opinion. Let them unite, and act fearlessly, and with determination, and victory will be ours.

And when that victory is once gained, it will be second only in beneficent results to the war of the revolution, and the adoption of the "Declaration of Independence," and of the Constitution of the United States.

Let there be an unanimity of action. Let the California State Grange ask the Co-operation of the National Grange, and let the Grange act in conjunction with the Federated Trades, the Knights of Labor and the Merchants. Let the pulpits throughout the land and the better class of news-

papers proclaim our wishes. Let every honest man and citizen throughout the land be enrolled in the good cause, and victory will be for the people, for our country.

Let us organize ; let us act, and let our motto be *Now* or *Never*.

Those who desire to co-operate in organizing associations for the purpose of advocating the plan herein proposed will

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